3: Hiscocks G-4, 5 (1946-1949) 1953 EK1 Austria EK1

IX

Social Change

BETWEEN the two World Wars the whole structure of Austrian society was radically transformed. The social pyramid, culminating in the great aristocratic families and the Emperor, began to disintegrate when the Habsburg power collapsed and Austria, from being the centre of a great cosmopolitan Empire, became a poverty-stricken fragment struggling to make ends meet. The process of disintegration was completed by the post-War inflation and the economic crisis of 1930–1. When the Second World War broke out, the most glaring inequalities of the years before 1914, with the glamour and the squalor that accompanied them, had largely disappeared.

During the period of transition a new social order was built up in Austria which was one of the most advanced and enlightened in the world. The origins of Austrian social legislation go back as far as the years 1882–8, when laws were passed regulating labour conditions and introducing compulsory insurance against accident and sickness for certain limited classes of industrial workers. This was followed during the first decade of the present century by measures establishing pensions for salaried employees on a contributory basis. On these foundations, after 1918, a whole series of laws was passed under the influence of Ferdinand Hanusch and Dr. Joseph Resch, the first Austrian Minister of Social Welfare. Subjects covered included unemployment insurance, holidays with pay, the extension of accident and sickness insurance, the eight-hour day, the abolition of night work for women and juveniles and of all work for children, and the introduction of Works Councils and factory inspectors. During the same period Vienna was attracting world attention by its radical improvement of the housing conditions of its workers through the

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3,013 married quarters. During the summer of 1952 further legislation was under consideration dealing with accommodation and technical training for agricultural workers.

The Ministry[1] also worked on a number of schemes in conjunction with the provinces and the Ministry of Social Welfare for helping displaced persons to settle on farms, inducing unemployed to work on the land, and persuading town-bred youths to give agriculture a trial.

As a result of all these efforts the flight from the land has been checked, though not stopped. Between November 1951 and November 1952 the number employed in agriculture and forestry fell by 6,500 compared with 9,400 the previous year. The fact that during the winter of 1952–3 there was a certain amount of unemployment on the land, due largely to increased mechanization, does not mean that the problem has ceased to be serious. Until agricultural production has at least regained the pre-War level, any further reduction in the number employed must remain a cause of great concern. It is a national problem which, like the drive to increase productivity, requires co-ordinated effort and a programme of public education for its solution.

A less obvious but no less dangerous trend in Austrian society since the War has been the progressive deterioration of the economic position of certain sections of the community, limited in number, but of value and importance to the nation out of all proportion to their numerical strength. The categories in question are university professors, school teachers, the administrative ranks of the civil service, and certain highly qualified groups in industry and the professions. They differ widely from one another, but there are certain common causes of their depressed condition.

The different categories belong, on the whole, to the so-called middle class, with its tradition of thrift and careful conservation of possessions and its deep-seated reluctance to take part in any organized public complaint about its condition. Such private property as they or their families possessed, including personal articles of value, had very largely disappeared

[1] i.e. the ministry of Agriculture and Forestry - Analyst]

3: Hiscocks G-4, 5 (1946-1949) 1953 EK1 Austria EK1

565 during the inflation and devaluation that followed the two Wars. But until quite recently their dislike of any organized protest remained.

During the whole series of Price–Wage Agreements, except the last, these people were discriminated against consistently. In the grave national emergency it was right that the better paid of them should be called on to make great sacrifices, though the process was carried too far, but in the case of the worse paid the discrimination was never just. The wage-earners were catered for adequately in the circumstances. The incomes of landowners and industrialists participated, in varying degrees, in the inflationary process, and their earning powers remained. But the categories in question suffered both from devaluation and State neglect. The situation therefore arose in which a young surgeon or research worker might receive a fraction of the income of a wage-earner of the same age whose hours of work were considerably less.

875 The incomes of academic workers were so low by world
465 standards that there was the strongest temptation for them to emigrate, and it was almost impossible to persuade foreign professors to fill Austrian chairs. At the end of 1951 the net salaries of Austrian professors varied between 3,489 schillings ($163.34) a month [1] for the most senior and 1,866 schillings ($87.31) for the lowest paid. The Privatdozent, or lecturer, member of a traditionally neglected class in Austrian and German universities, got no salary, but received lecture dues amounting on an average to 540 schillings ($25.28) a year, which might just cover his tram-fares. The starting salary of school teachers in 1951 was less than three times the 1937 figure and the final salary less than twice the amount, which meant that the teacher's standard of living had fallen by more than 50 per cent since pre-War days.

647 As regards administrative civil servants, in March 1951,
465 before the Fifth Price–Wage Agreement, the increase in their net salaries since 1946 varied between 120 and 180 per cent,

[1] Calculated at the commercial rate of 21·36 schillings to the dollar. The foreign visitor to Austria normally obtains 26 schillings to the dollar.

May 29th, 1933. Imposition of the 1000 mark limit for German tourists in Austria.

September 7th to 12th, 1933. Ninth "Catholic Day" in Vienna. Programmatic speech of Dollfuss.

February 5th, 1934. The League of Nations to be asked to intervene in the struggle with Germany.

February 9th, 1934. The parliamentary deputy Kunschak appeals in the Vienna City Council for reconciliation between "Black" (Catholics) and "Red" (Socialists).

February 12th to 15th, 1934. House searches in buildings of the Social-Democratic Party in Linz meet with armed resistance. General strike, violent conflict in Vienna and the countryside. The Vienna City Hall occupied by troops. Dissolution of the Social-Democratic Party. Arrests of leading Social-Democrats.

April 30th, 1934. Parliamentary Session of March 4th, 1933 closed. Enabling Bill passed to authorize the Government to conduct the affairs of state.

May 1st, 1934. Publication of the new Constitution of the Corporate State.

May 30th, 1934. First Nazi bomb outrage.

July 25th, 1934. Murder of Chancellor Dollfuss by illegal S.S.

July 25th to 30th, 1934. Nazi revolt in Carinthia and Styria suppressed.

July 30th, 1934. Schuschnigg becomes Chancellor.

September 27th, 1934. Joint Declaration by England, France and Italy, guarantees the independence of Austria.

January 7th, 1935. Laval in Rome. Consultative pact between Italy and France for defence of Austrian independence.

May 1st, 1935. The "Vaterländische Front" given monopoly rights to hold political meetings.

If there were any need to emphasize or to prove the indestructibility of the conception of Austria, events subsequent to 1918 might be called as witnesses before the bar of history. With quiet determination, the Austrians pulled themselves together and prepared to tread the stony path towards the formation of a new state. Now the call came to the simple citizens, the peasants, the city workers. The privileges of a class who for the last ten years had meant no more to the various peoples of Austria than a loose bond forged by tradition and official position were swept away in the general collapse of 1918. The blackballing of socially ineligible candidates for membership of exclusive clubs and the privilege of having green shutters to the house windows—documented evidence of membership of a privileged class—together with the old uniforms and the titles of nobility became just a part of historic memories.

The Austrian people know by instinct how to determine what is part of a precious heritage from the past and what is merely outworn convention. This instinct has constantly enabled them to adjust themselves to new modes of life during the ups and downs of the centuries. The Austrian has the gift of human comprehension, a readiness to respect opinions diametrically opposed to his own. Averse from the use of force and revolted by unnecessary violence, he cherishes freedom and hates tyranny. The Austrian has no respect for an empty skull, even if it is covered by a top hat or the brass hat of a general. But he is capable of deep reverence for every person and every thing really worthy of it.

Austria's path which led from the First to the Second Republic was a painful and difficult one. She was no more free from errors and mistakes in home policy than from reverses

with bread which he afterwards ate, such was the general mistrust and fear of poisoning. The talisman was long used at table: it was laid beneath glass or plate. 000

In the 15th century, Vienna cooking was considered to be among the best in Europe, and when the Viennese went to war, he took his best cooks to camp with him. The doughty Capuchin monk Abraham a Santa Clara more than once flew into a passion over Viennese gormandizing. He was not surprised, he said in one of his sermons, that house and farm were so often ruined because of the owner's overeating and that the noble soul was suppressed by the fat paunch.

DAYS OF SPLENDOUR. Splendour and luxury reached their climax in Austria in Leopoldian times, under Karl VI, under Prince Eugene and during the days of the Vienna Congress. Table decoration was a special feature of every official banquet. Fantastic shapes in sugar-icing, arabesques, ornamentation and groups of merry figures were the fashion in the days of great court banquets. The arrangement of the dishes competed with the table decorations; roasted doves and chickens, for instance, would be grouped about a pelican made of baked bread. 264 252

In this decorative period, they went so far as to produce gilded sucking-pigs. Astonishing pastry ships were filled with fruits of marzipan: the latter are still popular today. At other times table fireworks competed with disguised foods and artistic creations such as statues, fountains and castles of edible materials. Many confectioners of the period were trained sculptors.

The most luxurious days for the city were those of the Vienna Congress. Entertainment at the Imperial Court cost 50,000 gulden a day. The wealthy Austrian aristocratic families gave banquets to as many as 700 guests at a time, one day in the week being reserved for such brilliant affairs. 648 574

The so-called table d'hôte was never a success in Vienna. To these "Landlords tables" a certain number of people came at a fixed hour in order to partake of a meal which was served to everyone simultaneously at a fixed price. He who could eat quickest with the smallest regard for others was at an advantage, but as the Viennese dislike haste at mealtimes, the tables d'hôte were little patronised. 265

Apart from the customary eating-houses, there were also what were called the "tracteurs". Here one could eat at any time between eleven a. m. and three p. m., lunch costing up to a gulden according to what was chosen. The customers were drawn from a wide range of social classes. The manager stood in the middle of the room like a major commanding his troops and gave his orders to the waiters. The eaters sat packed together like sardines, gulped down their food and were quickly replaced by others.

In biedermeier times the middle classes lived most of their lives at home in the bosom of the family, where they also entertained guests, and took little interest in appearing in public. For this reason their history is bound up with family tradition. Their way of life and customs inspired an art style which embodied and preserved 565 593

565 them. Although the Viennese woman, superficially regarded, may have achieved
573 the emancipation of the self-supporting woman later than those of other countries, she early became the unchallenged and particularly respected representative of a well-defined and charming type of culture in the family, the home and in her salon. The average middle-class woman in Vienna has always lavished her imagination, her good taste, her emotions and her love on the home and its cultured atmosphere.
264 The famous Viennese "Gemütlichkeit" (cosiness) is eternally to her credit. This was not difficult for her to achieve in the [illegible]nty, but she has the art of lending the poetic touch to the simplest me[illegible]w-white tablecloth, a tasteful vase with flowers, an old china service, the dainty mat for a wine bottle and a touch of greenery as decoration can make the plainest meal attractive. Or the cobwebby teacloth of the Vienna Jause (tea table) with the hand-painted biedermeier cups, the charmingly arranged flowers, the sugary white and crisp "Guglhupf" (a sort of sponge-cake) in the centre and the aromatic coffee combine to bring a welcome break in the daily round.

265 This is also the reason why the restaurants in Vienna are less frequented than in other big cities. The stranger who remains more than a week in Vienna looks for private lodgings. If he is a man of name and position he soon finds acquaintances and free board. It was the custom when making a longer stay for a visitor to rent a room for the month and to eat only in restaurants.

511 In Vienna everything was cheaper than in most other cities. Karl Julius Weber wrote:—"Where is the great city where a philosopher may live so pleasantly for such a small sum of money and a man of the world can enjoy the fashionable world for an expenditure of 3,000 to 4,000 gulden? In any case one can live in Vienna twice as well as elsewhere with half as much money."

565 Glasbrenner writes with enthusiasm of Vienna:—"The Viennese is above all
181 a human being. In Vienna there is hardly a trace of class-consciousness, for in the same tavern lackeys and cab drivers sit next to artists, rich citizens and merchants,

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side by side with clerks. The Viennese goes on his way untroubled and finds his own pleasures. If he feels hot he takes his coat off, if he has an itch in his legs he dances, if he likes the look of a girl, he courts her; if he feels he wants to drink, he drinks. He is always human, always without embarrassment, a quality which he has saved from the wealth of imperial days and preserved for these days of impoverishment."

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VIENNA SPECIALITIES: Many foreigners have believed that Austrian cooking is the best, the most nourishing and the most piquant. The English are content with roast beef, the French with roast mutton, ragout or a few pies, the Italians with stracchino and spaghetti. Russia has her nourishing herb soups with meat balls, the Hungarian his paprikagulyas, the Dane his buckwheat and cream. But the Viennese is interested in the multiplicity of the dishes. On great occasions he expects to see every bird from blackcock to pigeon, and every fish from trout to tunny on the festive board. In Viennese cooking the condiments are not emphasized and meat is served more à la nature. The Englishman is fond of Worcester Sauce, the Hungarian of red paprika, the Frenchman favours various spices and mayonnaises, but the Viennese prefers the natural taste of the meat. The Viennese cuisine also knows how to combine the favourite dishes of all these nations in its menu, for Vienna has learnt the art of international cooking.

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Among the bakers' specialities the first to be mentioned must be the Vienna roll. These have a history, for the Emperor Friedrich IV had the first rolls of the type called "Semmel" baked in 1487 with his portrait stamped on them, and gave one to each of the children who were called together in the city moat. Since then, the rolls have born the name of "Kaisersemmeln". Two hundred years later the "Kipfel" was baked in the crescent form of the Turkish sabres, being at first called "Mond" and later "Gipfel" (peak) after the spire of the Stephansturm which in those days carried a crescent at the top; the soft letter "G" was later changed to the crisp-sounding letter "K". The Vienna Bretzel also made its appearance about this time and was gradually followed by the salt "Stangerl", the "Girafferl", the "Schnecken" and the brioches.

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Another Vienna speciality is the Vienna "Faschingskrapfen" (a glorified doughnut). This was invented in the year 1615 by a luxurious confectioner named Cäcilie near the Peilertor, where the Naglergasse now runs. In those days it was called "cillikugel" in her honour. Not until thirty years later was it improved through